/Information on Paez tales and myths regarding various gods and spirits in their pantheon will be found only in category 539./

C /18 cont./
172 discovery value of the objects brought to light, the landowners
656 often have them dug up by guaqueros and sold for their own
423 benefit. Digging for spoils on the part of the guaqueros is, of course, forbidden by the law mentioned. Since, however, the archeological sites are almost never in the vicinity of cities or police stations, this uncontrollable digging is practiced even today in large parts of the country, to the detriment of the science of archeology.

C
172 The excavation sites belonging to the park lie within sight
484 of the administration building. The other sites are often to be
487 reached only by very narrow and steep paths. For example, in
C order to reach El /19/ Canadá, one travels on horseback for an
[492] hour. It takes just as long to climb on foot the Filo de El Aguacate, to which the detour on horseback takes more than twice as long. At least the same amount of time, one to three hours, is also generally required for the trip from one village to another.

C
133 The sharply fissured, steeply rising mountains around the
172 archeological park represent the typical panorama of the Tierradentro region (Ills. 5-9 /see pp. 261-263/). The archeological sites with the grave chambers are always on heights, the simpler ones on the peaks of the highest ridges, the largest and
C most splendid ones on leveled-off hilltops below these. One has
133 the best view of the valley of San Andrés from its western end,
361 the Yokaichí ridge, beyond which the valley of Kokiyó, with the village of Calderas, begins. From here one has a broad view as far as the Dondotá ridge, which borders the towns of Suin and Chinas. To the north the Chíndava Mountains border the village of Togóima. Looking eastward in the direction of our ascent, the houses of Supón lie directly below us, then comes the village of San Andrés, then about two kilometers downstream the administrative building for the park, and about two kilometers below
C the park the point Cruzero, from which the road from San Andrés
133 to Juntas branches off in the direction of Inzá. Still farther east,
F forming the imposing background of this mountainous landscape,
[823] lie the towns of Pedregál and Turminá, and behind them the
[776]
[173]

C /19 cont./
133 dome of "Picacho des Trueno," the mountain of thunder and
? lightning, in which the Paez of San Andrés believe that the
[823] thunder lives and in which -- in the opinion of some Indios --
[776] the Paez, after the destruction of the city of La Plata (1577),
[173] hid the captured gold and silver, the bells and figures of saints
of the old Spanish silver city devastated by them.

C My own archeological research in the Tierradentro region
126 includes an inventory of the archeological objects, as well as
172 prehistoric excavations within the sites of the Alto de San Andrés,
114 the Filo de El Aguacate, El Canadá, and Segovia. For the inventory, exact outline and sectional drawings of the various grave types were first of all undertaken. The photographs of the grave chambers /not reproduced for the translation/ show all the types of decoration that occur. Furthermore, the statues present in the Tierradentro region, as well as the types of ceramics, are completely illustrated /not reproduced for the translation/. The excavations include intact grave-chambers not yet opened by pirate diggers, with the first completely preserved burial urns of the Tierradentro culture of the chambered graves.

C /20/ In the description and numbering of the grave cham-
172 bers the numbering used after the establishment of the park was changed. On the Alto de San Andrés today this is the reverse of what it was formerly, since the entrance of the now fenced-in area lies in the direction of the San Andrés River. The present grave chamber No. 1 corresponds to the No. 12 of G. Hernandez de Alba and J. Perez de Barradas. In Segovia, too, the numbering of the grave chambers has changed. The only chambers published thus far, Nos. H. 1 and H 2 of G. Hernandez de Alba, or Nos. 1 and 2 of J. Perez de Barradas, now lie farthest from the entrance and correspond to Nos. 35 and 38. The designations of a few of the sites were also changed. The archeological site "Necropolis de San Andrés" is now officially called "Alto de San Andrés," the "Loma Alta de San Andrés" is now "Filo de El Aguacate," and the "Parte alta del potrero de las Huacas" is now "El Duende." /The remainder of p. 20 and pp. 21-96 are omitted in the translation./

/142 cont./

231 There are dogs (álko) in almost every house. They are supposed to protect the chickens from the fox and the house from strange persons. We never met any really vicious dogs, however. They are all very undernourished and cowardly and, in addition, are of a small, short-haired breed. There are no larger dogs, say, [262] of the size of our shepherd dogs. They must hunt for their food, which consists chiefly of the meat of dead horses, since the people do not eat horse meat. Only very rarely are the remains of human meals tossed to them. Cats (mīš) are rare. Only a few families have one. They serve human beings by keeping the [235] house and storerooms free of mice. Ducks (páto) are likewise very [262] rare; we came across only two each in two houses. They are greatly prized as roasts.

Bees (čí'nc) are kept by only a few families. They are smaller than our German honeybees and of a yellowish brown color. There are no special beehives; rather, an old, hollow, but still standing tree-trunk is used. In one case they nested in a house post next to the doorway. Their honey (čí'nc mil) is dark brown, [237] like syrup. Beeswax (čí'nc) is used to strengthen the agave-fiber string with which broken chicha bowls are repaired and fireworks are made.

/143/ e) Hunting and Fishing

224 Neither plays any great role in the economy of the Paez. [433] Moreover, there is no special class of hunters or fishermen. Hunting is practiced only by the men and, for lack of big game, generally extends to smaller mammals, rabbits, monkeys, and to birds. Only in the mountains is it possible to find and to hunt the čái and gwágwa. The former is a kind of deer, so I was told, and the gwágwa a small animal similar to a badger.

The greatest frequency of the hunting trips of a man is about one day a week. Mostly, however, the men go hunting [231] less often. This is done alone with dogs in the vicinity of the [776] houses, whereas a hunting trip in the mountains is generally made by several men, since a man alone is afraid of gělyómp, the mountain spirit.

/143 cont./
224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18
who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told
us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to
[789] kill a bear (ĕ̌swiy). One must then rub its fat into the right
[237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear.
[262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would
[828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter
[263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There
are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed.
[237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal-
[752] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one
[757] must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured
limb will heal immediately and will become considerably
224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a
292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (mŏ̌no),
[825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the
bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on
[439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since,
[126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey
224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gĕ̌lyŏ̌mp spirit, but the
● 776 other men were, for gĕ̌lyŏ̌mp screams and makes a noise when
human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they be-
come quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot
do anything to several men together, however, since he could
make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let them-
224 selves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so
776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke
515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gĕ̌lyŏ̌mp
783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure
[296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed;
[824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition,
they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šu̇ and ǩ̆ayuts, which
they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether
[761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken
part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by,
he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must
have himself specially purified by the
shaman before hunting.

/144 cont./

have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting. In case the wife of a hunter happens to be menstruating at the very time of the hunt, however, purification is of no avail; the hunter is too "dirty" and must stay at home, so as not to provoke the wrath of the gĕlyómp and thus bring misfortune on the entire hunting party.

The latter generally consists of six men with 12 dogs, without there being any regular battues, however. The hunters are equipped with shotguns, whose smooth barrels, with a caliber of about 15 millimeters, consist of strong sheet-iron. Fine sand is used as shot; powder is purchased and ignited with a spark from the flintlock.

There are no closed seasons for animals; nor is gĕlyómp angry, say, because too much game might be hunted, for "this does not happen, since there is not that much." After hunting, however, the hunter fastens the tail feathers of the birds killed to the inner side of the roof of his house and the cleanly gnawed skulls of the four-footed animals killed to its center post or center gable-post, both so as to be successful again the next time in hunting the same game. I found tail feathers of birds under the roof covering of almost every house, and frequently also three, five, or ten monkey or rabbit skulls fastened directly to the house post or strung one above the other on a string. Only once did I find, on the gable post of a small field-hut, at a man's height, below a monkey skull, a very crudely incised human figure with an oval face and six hairs standing straight up on the head (Ill. 200 /see p. 288/). The eyes are represented by circles, the nose by a long rectangle, and the mouth by a triangle. The body is rectangular. Two semicircular lines are incised on the sides of the body. The arms start at these semicircles as two bent lines and stick out somewhat; the legs are represented in a similar way; a triangle between them is probably supposed to indicate the genitals. A Christian cross is carved on the side of the post. I was told that the human figure represents the "devil," /145/ but had nothing to do with hunting. This explanation is, of course, unsatisfactory, but I was unable to find any similar

/145 cont./

532 carving anywhere else or obtain an explanation anywhere (*).
• 976

* Possibly this is supposed to represent "Thunder," who, as the most important mythical figure and also as the shamans' assistant spirit, is described as a small man with the shaman staff and a triangle as a musical instrument, who displays his sexual parts.

223 Bird-hunting for the pigeon-sized tom birds is carried on by almost all Paez families with the net (ōka), as well as with the shotgun. The net is about five meters high and 20 meters wide. For this purpose a correspondingly wide breach is cut in the growth of trees or bushes on a hill or the ridge of a mountain chain, and the net fastened in the opening produced. The flushed birds, who think that there is a convenient passage at this place, fly into the net, get caught in it, and are then killed by the [237] capturers, who twist their heads. Another type of bird-catching consists of fastening a noose made of horsehair (nyákiwez; nyák = to set up, wez = string) to the twig of a tree or shrub in such a [857] way that the noose rests in a bird's nest. When the bird returns to its nest, the noose becomes entangled in its foot, and the boy -- for it is mostly boys who engage in this task of noose-setting -- 224 is able to seize the bird. Rabbits are caught in the same way with nooses, but made of agave fibers, by laying the nooses where they pass.

226 Fishing is done with hook and line at the river or with [283] poison in weirs. The fishing line (wendyánsyuts) consists of twined agave string to which are tied a metal hook and a stone as a sinker. A small worm is fastened to the hook as bait. [462] Angling is done only by men, and at twilight or at night.

226 Fishing with poisonous plants is a cultural characteristic 824 of almost all South American Indians. For this purpose a total 171 of more than 100 species of poisonous plants are used by them, which means that this part of the world leads all the continents in this respect (Heizer, p. 277). Among the Paez, fishing with

623 /175 cont./
293 handle an additional crescent-shaped piece of silver leaf is applied.

In former years, on the first day of the new year, a cere-
623 mony for the old as well as for the newly elected cabildo took
796 place on the not easily accessible lagoon of Juan Tama, the
778 Páramo de Moras, and lasted for several days. It started with
823 chicha drinking under the leadership of a shaman, after which the culture hero, Juan Tama, and the spirits of the ancestors (?) were asked by the shaman for advice and assistance in the coming year. A dance and a bath in the lagoon concluded the ceremony (Bürg, pp. 340 f.). According to my information, this gathering at the lagoon has not been carried out for several years. The reason given is that for several years in succession it has rained around
[787] New Year's time. After that the shamans announced that with this
[776] sign Juan Tama renounced any further performances of the ceremony on his lagoon.

623 The election of the cabildo is done by the men of the entire
666 village. The candidates must be citizens of the given village,
[641] that is to say, they must own land there. A stranger could never hold office in a Paez village. The candidates may not propose themselves, but must be nominated by the assembly or by the old cabildo. Anyone who is elected for an office by the village assembly for the first time may not refuse, but must accept it. Only re-election, which is possible up to five or ten years in succession, is voluntary. The wealth or possessions of the candidates do not play
[552] any role. The present gobernador, Marcelo Muse, is /176/ about 30 years old. Two children, a son about six years old and a four-year-old daughter, are living; four of his children died. In the way of material possessions he owns five horses and two pigs, but no cows and no sheep. Ten years ago he was fiscal for a year. In the general opinion of the Paez the gobernador should not be too young or too old. The best age is between 30 and 50 years. The remaining posts, which to a large extent consist of messenger services, are generally held by younger, unmarried people, although
[896] they may also be filled by married men up to 50 years of age. In general the gobernador chooses people who are loyal to him and who must also carry out the punishments for him, for a gobernador

/195 cont./

d) Death

761 According to the belief of the Paez, death occurs chiefly
776 through the action of the evil shamans (nyic) or the evil spirits
165 ec̀, tũs, and gẽlyómp (see "Religion" /see pp. 191ff./). Included
164 here also is the not infrequent cause of death through consumption.
[262] Causes of death of children are chiefly whooping cough, as well
as stomach and intestinal disorders, the latter brought about by a
[762] diet very unsuitable for children. Suicide is completely unknown.

764 The death of a member of the community is passed on from
[763] man to man by members of the family and neighbors. There is
[203] no public mourning or lamentation; upon the death of small
[765] children, people act as though they were glad, since the children
[192] are now "little angels." (Among the colonists, as well as among the Paez, the Spanish word "angelito" is used.) In former times it was customary to abandon the house when death occurred and to leave the deceased and some food in it (Castillo i Orosco, p. IX).

764 The manner of burial is the same for men, women, and
184 children; there are no social differences. A few customs in other Paez communities, however, differ from those of the Calderun. Therefore the burial of the dead in Calderas will be described first.

[177] For burial the deceased is dressed if possible in purchased,
[291] that is, "white" clothing, even if he was the poorest of the poor and had never worn such clothing. For this reason the relatives incur considerable expense, which often cannot be paid for a long time. Burial takes place the day after death. Only the feet of the deceased are washed. This work, as well as dressing the deceased, may be done by relatives or even by outsiders; they must, /196/ however, always be men, even in the case of female deceased persons. The body is taken by two men on a bier made of two tree trunks to the graveyard next to the church, where two other men, usually relatives, have already dug the grave. The latter is trapezoid-shaped, a good shoulder's breadth at head height and narrower at the foot end. Its length is determined by the size of the deceased. The direction of the grave is completely arbitrary.

/253 cont./

539 When he came back, he saw the snake in its place. Then he changed back into a human being. The fiber bag was there, too. The bananas were there, too. The snake filled with water (that is, underdone, still watery) was there.

It was afternoon when he went into his house. The bag he brought to his wife. He came to his wife with this bag. When he had knocked, he entered.

2. Orientation and General Knowledge

772 776 177 Nothing definite can be said about the ancient Paez conception of the world, since Christian influence has had a strongly modifying effect. In any case, there is in the Paez vocabulary the word "tátyinas," which is sometimes translated as "god," and sometimes -- and corresponding better with the meaning of the word -- as "creator." The word "Dios" is used to designate the Christian God. Tátyinas, I was told, lives in heaven, on the earth, and in the earth. He made all human beings. He does not receive sacrifices. He is not mentioned in shamanistic ceremonies.

772 775 The vocabulary shows that, besides the earth and the conception of a heaven or of the firmament, there were also two places of the dead that were familiar. The happy land of death, mbéka kĩgwe, is like heaven. Literally it means "land of chicha," and if one knows the Paez, one realizes that in any case it must be /254/ a happy land. The land of the dead corresponding to [776] "hell" is called eč kĩgwe. The eč are the most evil of all spirits. They live in the earth; hence this designation must refer to a subterranean land.

804 461 As for natural periods of time, only days and months are known, as well as work days and non-work days (ki'sen). The latter designation is now used for Sunday. Originally this was not a fixed day; rather, people worked and celebrated as they could arrange the time within a larger or smaller community. Even today, during the times of clearing, the people sometimes work for weeks in the field, without inserting a work-free day.

1: Nachtigall--177 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/259 cont./

b) The Period of Development of the Shaman

756 The teyu with whom I was acquainted became shamans in two ways. Either they were taught by a teyu for a more or less long period of time, until they were given the "signs," or they were directly called to become a shaman by a vision. The latter, as a result of special selection through an experience caused by higher beings, is the more original type of shaman calling, whereas a regular apprenticeship with an experienced teyu is characteristic for the shamans who carry on the position of their fathers and sometimes also that of their grandfathers. These "hereditary shamans" are generally not as powerful magically as those initially chosen through a vision. The hereditary shamans are merely the continuers of an acquired shamanistic trade, whereas the initially chosen ones are the continuers of the tradition of a creator of human beings and animals, of a heroic war leader and liberator
• [776] of their people. This mythically important figure of Paez tradition is Thunder, who is also regarded as the foremost and the most powerful magically of all shamans. His human successors were scarcely inferior to him as shamans in olden times, whereas the present-day ones are generally quite far behind in their magical abilities.

754 The teoi Felisa Ipia from Santa Rosa is about 70 years old
756 (Ill. 199 /see p. 288 /). Her husband and six children are dead. Three children are living. She keeps no animals aside from a few chickens and turkey hens. About her calling she says that she received her call to become a shaman from Thunder. /260/ The latter lives in the lagoon of Taibe. He appeared to her in a black cloud and descended to earth to her in human form and gave her her shaman's staff and her medicinal herbs, saying that she had
754 been chosen as teoi by him. She then practiced her art for a long
756 time; but the people said that she was an evil shaman, a nyic,
683 and brought her before the cabildo to be punished. Since the people greatly fear the nyic, she was given many blows there, and, indeed, with her own shaman's staff. Afterwards it was broken and burned

/267 cont./

[756] like the entire culture of the Paez. For the rest, there are neither special articles of clothing or equipment nor any other kind of ceremonial gear, such as crystals, masks, or rattles.

[824] The shaman's staff consists of a smooth staff, 50 to 60 centimeters long, made out of the hard wood of the chonta palm. It is /268/ pointed at one end and semicircular in cross-section. Each shaman makes this staff for himself before treating his first [764] patient and never lets it out of his hand. When he dies, it is put into the grave with him. Before a séance begins, he sticks it into the ground, though not directly in front of him, but somewhat to the side. Only rarely does a shaman have it in his hand during the séance. As the single exception to the unadorned shaman's staff, I know of only the one belonging to old Felisa Ipia of Santa Rosa. On her staff she has tied a number of colored wool threads [774] which she spun herself and dyed with homemade dyes. She has collected in these threads the souls of all the villagers of Santa [755] Rosa. If someone in the village falls ill, she learns of it through [787] her signs or through Thunder personally and in this way is better able to help the sick person, since she can immediately blow her medicinal herbs, mixed with brandy, on the wool threads and thus can help the sick person better.

756 S. Bernal Villa points out that the designation for the shaman's 773 staff corresponds to the name of the most important culture hero of the Paez, Juan Tama, who, according to tradition, was lawgiver, famous and victorious commander of the army, first chief ● [976] and shaman. According to other traditions, he was the son of the stars, the son of Thunder, or Thunder himself. The present-day shamans regard the staff as a gift from Thunder, and as a sign of spiritual alliance with him. A shaman of San Andrés, reporting on the origin of the shaman staff, says that, according to the stories of the elders, the tama was introduced by Thunder himself. According to this, a man once had his hut and his potato field in the mountains. He harvested the field with his son. One day the son refused to follow his father to the field, but rather preferred to stay behind in the hut. The next day the son had disappeared

/268 cont./

without leaving a trace. In vain the father tried to find out where he was staying. After eight days, however, the son again appeared in the hut. He said that he had been with his grandfather, who had given him brandy, medicines, and this staff that he held in his hand and that was called tama. The "brandy" was cold water from a lake, and the medicines in the fiber bag were mountain herbs. After he had said this, he fell into a trance and lay there as though dead. Fourteen days later, as he lay dying, he asked his father to hand him his tama, for Thunder had told him that he could defend himself with it and that, in case of illness, he should take the medicines that he had given him. He squeezed /269/ out the juice and drank it. Quickly he became well. When he gave it to other sick persons, they, too, became well immediately. With his staff and his medicines he became the best doctor far and wide. He died at an advanced age.

Another shaman said that the tama stems from a lifesaving act of the Holy Virgin Mary. Once when the sea rose constantly higher and had covered almost the entire earth, human beings were in great danger. The Virgin Mary took pity on them. She drew forth the tama and with it made the same motions that the shamans make with it today. The masses of water then receded. She left her staff behind for the person who became a shaman. This is supposed to be the origin of the tama.

Although in the latter story not only the figure of the Virgin Mary, but possibly also the motif of the Deluge did not originate in the thought of the Paez, nevertheless the origin of the tama as a gift from a higher power is noteworthy. This power, which, for the shamans, is of the greatest significance as a spirit being and as the first shaman, is Thunder. According to reports, he also positively has the character of an assistant spirit, even though he is almost only feared by the present-day shamans. "The old shamans," the present ones constantly assert, "were still powerful enough magically to establish communication with Thunder directly and at any time; we today are no longer able to do it." In former times the members of the cabildo, under the guidance of a shaman, bathed together in the lagoon of Juan Tama

/269 cont./

778 and had their staff of office consecrated there. Today this no
756 longer takes place because of the lack of good shamans. The
623 shamans of today no longer have the intense visions that the
[787] earlier ones had, and that is why they are no longer so powerful magically. They are no longer able to speak with Thunder as simply as their predecessors did, and since they are weaker, it is believed that Thunder will kill them.

• 776 Thunder is generally described as small of stature and dressed like a Paez man with hat and black ruana. It is reported that he does not wear trousers, but exposes his sexual parts. He has with
[534] him, like a shaman, his tama, a fiber bag with medicines, and a
[532] musical instrument called "tíngalo" (triangle). It is not impossible that it is his picture, together with a Christian cross, that is incised in the gable post of a hut in the vicinity of the park of San Andrés, which represents a man with large, triangular-shaped sexual parts (Ill. 200 /see p. 288 /).

[756] /270/ Thunder is regarded by all the Paez as the greatest
[773] shaman and by the teyu as their master. In the folklore (see below /see pp. 215 ff./), he probably often has different names, such as Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, Juan Chiracol, but his characteristics stand out in them, no matter whether as sāt (cacique) he is fighting the Pijao and defending his people, or that he will one day -- people are convinced -- again drive the hated whites
776 out of Tierradentro. He warns the Paez of an evil white person
821 who is coming to Tierradentro for a visit by a clap of thunder from
[783] a clear sky. When he thunders above a particular house, he is
[754] announcing that there is "pest" in it, and if he thunders first above the house of a nyic and then above one belonging to a teyu he is thereby announcing to a good shaman that he has just been bewitched.

776 A few stories also tell about the struggles of the shamans
787 against Thunder, for he once robbed the Paez of livestock and
756 people. But that was long ago, for today no one would dare undertake anything against Thunder. The Calderun shamans tell how the earlier teyu were in a position to speak with Thunder at any time and to get advice from him. Those of today are no

/270 cont./

longer able to do this. Old Filisa of Santa Rosa, however, who was herself chosen and initiated into her office by Thunder, is still able to enter into communication with Thunder today. To be sure, she cannot always do this, but she has often sought him out in his lagoon, dived into the water, gone to the house of Thunder on the bottom of the lagoon, and asked him for advice. One of the sons of Thunder, likewise a shaman, was even her constant companion who protected her everywhere. "In former times," she said, "Thunder himself cured people. Today it is different." Thunder knows when someone is sick; then when people come to her to ask for a remedy, Thunder personally announces to the shaman beforehand: such and such persons with such and such an illness will come today. He also tells her at the same time what remedies she should use. Then when the people come to tell about the illness, she can, since she is a good friend of Thunder, always help them with the best remedies.

Thunder, she said, has many children. They come into the world by way of a spring or a crevice out of which water trickles. They have the size of small human beings, but are very good and dressed in a beautiful táw (belt). For growing up and for their nourishment they need three women as attendants. They suck milk from them, whereupon the women must die. The Thunder-children /271/ themselves are barren and have no children. As children of Thunder, however, they have always been great caciques and shamans.

One day she showed me a small knot of a branch, wrapped in a piece of cloth. "This is a child of Thunder that I have from him," she said, "it looks like a branch, but in reality it is alive and can speak."

d) Sickness, Ideas About the Spirits and Souls

All sicknesses are explained by the Paez as having originated by means of magical influences that have their cause primarily in malevolent, deliberate acts. These magical, supernatural influences are either bewitchments by the nyic, magical injury

/271 cont./

753 caused by the spirits ečˇ, tũs, or gělyómp, or general emanations
783 of impurity, of "pest" (uwẽ). Such reasons for catching pest, and
[754] thereby being afflicted with sickness, result largely from neglecting
[764] the prescribed shamanistic purifications. These must take place after a burial or when someone has merely seen a funeral procession or entered a house in which there is a corpse. The prohibitions
753 783 surrounding a woman giving birth or menstruating are just as strict.
841 If she does not retire to the menstruation hut at the proper time,
[849] if she cohabits during these days or neglects to take the subsequent bath after menstruation and birth, the consequences are equally
[264] grave. Pest befalls a man if he accepts food from a menstruating
753 woman. The same consequences befall the one who in housebuild-
783 ing or during the first harvest does not have the proper ceremonies
756 performed by the shaman.
342

Most people die as the result of the evil influence of the
754 nyiç, the evil sorcerers. The latter -- it is firmly believed --
783 761 are able to kill individual persons as well as to send pest to entire villages. Their power of evil is regarded as almost unlimited. Besides being bewitched by a nyiç, there are three other possibili-
753 ties for a person to become ill or to die. These causes are
761 gělyómp, tũs, and ečˇ. All three are very complex conceptions
● 776 and may be translated roughly as "mountain spirit," "rainbow," and "firefly," respectively, although the Paez conception and the
[756] translation are not completely identical. The teyu knows the cause of the illness immediately from his signs, the rest of the people, however, usually only after the death of the sick person. And, to be sure, one recognizes the tũs as the cause of illness by the fact /272/ that the corpse lies there with a bent limb (arm or leg), whereas in the case of ec as the cause of death, blood flows from the mouth or nose. It is also possible that both together, tũs and ečˇ, might bring death to the person, for example, if the person lies there bent and blood flows from the mouth or nose.

776 The gělyómp spirit lives chiefly in the mountains, but also in the valley, on the banks of brooks or rivers. He likes to lead wanderers astray in the mountains by making noise and screaming up there; at night one hears his screams -- like those of a human

/272 cont./

776 being -- in the valley, too, near the village. He is a raging foe
[784] of everything dirty. A hunter who has not washed himself and his ruana before hunting or whose wife is in the menstruation hut at the time will be punished by him. He has the figure of a human being, sometimes that of a man, but sometimes, too, that of a woman or a child. Gĕlyómp, as well as tũs and eč, can give a
776 person pest so that he will die. One can catch pest by himself
783 everywhere and on all occasions, no matter whether he is awake or
753 asleep. The pest of the three spirits mentioned is primarily caused by stings that not only enter the body, but also the soul. In the spot where they have entered the body they leave punctures that are red in color in the case of gĕlyómp, blue in the case of tũs, and black in the case of eč. The sicknesses caused by gĕlyómp manifest themselves by general pain caused by the penetration of one of his hairs. This happens in the following manner: Someone is walking along a path and suddenly feels a stinging pain in his arm or some other part of his body, like the prick of a pin. Although
[755] he cannot discover a puncture, the pain remains. The person therefore goes to the teyu, and he is able to remove the cause of the pain by rubbing his herbs over the affected spot until he re-
[761] moves from it a black hair ten to 15 centimeters long. This hair is from the gĕlyómp, and if the shaman had not removed it, the one
[75] afflicted by it would have had to die. To a certain extent one can protect himself from the hairs of the mountain spirit if, when returning home from a walk over the mountains or a night's march, he passes a firebrand over the feet and body, in order to burn off any hair of the gĕlyómp that might have penetrated.

776 Tũs, the "rainbow," lives on the banks of watercourses and
753 especially at springs. There are many tũs, and, to be sure, wherever there is water. There are tũs as large as a snake, colored red and yellow, and others only the size of a finger. People recognize sicknesses /273/ of the tũs by the fact that the afflicted one is covered all over with pimples and has to scratch himself constantly.
[821] If it rains when the sun is shining, tũs goes from the bank of the river, where he lives, into the sky and from there back again to earth in a semicircle. The rainbow is especially dangerous for children.

/273 cont./

776 If it rains when the sun is shining, they may not leave the house,
753 for otherwise they become afflicted with head maladies. These
821 are not headaches, but wounds such as would be inflicted by a
[758] machete. The teyu, however, have remedies to make the rain-
(789) bow disappear, so that children may go outside again.

776 Ečˇ, the third of the aforementioned causes of sickness and
(753) death, is the most unpleasant and the most dangerous, since ečˇ
[761] kills the most people. Ečˇ lives in the earth; no man has seen
[787] him, apart from a few shamans. They need not enter into the earth, however, to see him; rather, ečˇ himself comes if a teyu
[825] calls him. He looks like a human being. Ečˇ is also the name for fireflies, which are regarded as the messengers that he sends out to bring "pest" to human beings. People therefore kill fire-
776 flies if they are able to catch them. Ečˇ is not angry, however,
782 if the people kill his messengers, if only he always gets enough offerings. For this reason people give ečˇ a dram-glass full of brandy from every bottle, that is, they pour this amount on the ground; likewise ečˇ gets his share of every animal killed (chicken,
756 pig, cow, etc.). People ask their teyu which parts of the animal
776 ečˇ demands and which ones they should offer him. If people
782 killed and ate an animal without offering ečˇ any of it, he would
[761] in return kill a child of this family. If the father then comes to the teyu and asks why his child died, he -- who, of course, knows that the man slaughtered a pig without giving ečˇ anything -- tells him that this is the punishment of ečˇ. That very rarely happens, however; rather, the man gives the shaman the parts of the animal desired by ečˇ, for instance, the liver, entrails, or meat, and he gives them to ečˇ, bringing them at night to the place desired
[787] by him. Moreover, as a precaution people give ečˇ herbs and brandy as the shaman advises, in accordance with the signs which he has received from ečˇ.

774 If the penetration of pest into the body of a person is the
776 cause of an illness that may result in death, this unfortunate out-
753 come is all the more probable if one of the three spirits or a nyic has stolen a human soul. I was given differing /274/ statements about such a case: First of all, there are two words for soul, ũns

/274 cont./

(ũ = nasal) and taff, with which everyone is familiar, although they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same; but both of them also said that ũns or taff, if they had left the person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tũs, ečˇ, or nyic without the person's becoming aware of this immediately, but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this case ũns and taff were probably different, they did not know how to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his ũns goes to heaven and the person himself becomes taff. He and other teyu were able to catch the ũns of a human being. Thus, for example, if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring forth the ũns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must then die. In order to get the ũns in his power, he must first cleanse his hands with the herbs šũ and vitubítskwe, as well as with brandy. The ũns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar to a firefly in appearance, but different from ečˇ.

Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyic, which, to be sure, he had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and kill the ũns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner: The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santísima /Holy Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

/277 cont./

The shaman learns the date of the second ceremony and principal purification through his signs from ec̆. He announces this date to those who participated at the burial. Those to be purified -- primarily the nearest relatives -- gather at the river and at a place set apart for this, marked by a number of flat stones. These are absolutely necessary; without stones, no purification site. First the people sit in front of the stones, and the helpers of the shaman fetch calabashes filled with water that is mixed with the s̆u herb and to which some cow excrement, standing ready in a pot at the same place, is added. The shaman has wound a liana around his staff. Even before the ceremony, he chewed coca and tobacco uninterruptedly and drank brandy copiously. First he goes to the left with the staff and liana and beats the air with both, as though he were struggling with invisible spirits. Then, always struggling, he goes in the other directions of the site, and, finally, once more to the left. There his helpers have dug a hole about 30 centimeters deep and 15 centimeters in diameter.

Now the linen of the deceased and the linen of the mourners which they used on the day of burial are brought forth. They are placed on the stones and then washed and rinsed long and vigorously by the widow and the daughter of the deceased.

The rest of the mourners, like the shaman, have been chewing coca the whole time and get brandy to drink from the teyu.

After the washing, the shaman next struggles as before, as though he wanted to drive invisible spirits away from the site of the purification ceremony. With wide sweeping blows he moves his tama /278/ and liana slowly through the air. In particular he turns to the left again, for to the left lives the evil ec̆, and to be sure, in the ground (*).

* The direction left has nothing to do with any geographical direction or with the direction of the river. They sit with their backs to the river.

1: Nachtigall--215 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/292 cont./

5. Folklore

539 The present fund of tales of the Paez is neither rich nor varied. Here, too, a certain impoverishment has undoubtedly taken place, as may be seen from fragments of larger complexes of myths. Among these there are the "Story of the Woman from Whose Body Useful Plants Come Forth," stories about transformed animals and human beings, as well as stories about werejaguars. [171] The story of the ghostly human head that comes rolling by is also extraordinarily widespread in North and South American legends and has a manifold lunar-mythological meaning. [176] In contrast to this, the complete absence of typical stories about the forest spirit (gĕlyómp) is noteworthy, although the latter plays an important role in the religious conceptions of the Paez. Animal and transformation tales are only very dull and colorless.

114 609 539 [887] Unfortunately, the reluctance of the Paez to communicate is particularly frustrating in the recording of the myths. It is primarily the old people who can tell stories. But they are the very ones who are particularly standoffish toward the stranger. The chroniclers and early reporters tell us nothing about the folklore of the Paez, and even the most recent travelers of the 'thirties report only the story of Juan Tama or deny that the Paez have any mythology at all.

12 609 539 [554] The stories collected by S. Bernal Villa and by myself could surely be augmented with better acquaintance among the old people. The unpopularity of our interpreter, especially among the old people, was sometimes so great an obstacle that Victoriano had to ask suitable informants for some of the stories told about his father or uncle.

539 The themes of the stories chiefly consist of tales about Thunder (Nos. 1-12), mostly under his names of Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, or Juan Chiracol. In the myths he is the first shaman and teacher of the present-day shamans (see under "Religion" /see pp. 176 ff. /) and considerably more powerful than human beings. He is not an exalted, numinous figure, however. On the contrary, people in olden days /293/ sometimes treated him quite badly, threw poisonous herbs in his lagoon,

/316 cont./

105 The kinship nomenclature shows remnants of a "classificatory"
601 system, into which the individual is fitted as part of a living structure and does not stand out in profile, detached within the family. Persons are differentiated in address according to certain circumstances of age and life, and, among others, siblings are differentiated in address, according to whether they are younger or older than the speaker.

105 In art and mythology a considerable impoverishment has
53 taken place. There is neither song nor any peculiar dance. The music of transverse flutes and drums, performed with great enthu-
[177] siasm, is to be stressed. The cylindrical drum with skin stretched on two sides, which is used at the present time by the Paez, is in all parts of America a loan from the Negroes. In earlier times hanging, hollowed-out tree-trunks were used for the dance and for conveying information, such as /317/ are used today as troughs for making chicha. The rattles formerly present are no longer used today. The transverse flutes with six blowholes used by the Paez are post-Columbian; at any rate they are not found in this form either archeologically or recently among uninfluenced Indians. The only transverse flute form known from pre-Spanish and modern times are flutes that are stopped at both ends and provided with two blowholes (Izikowitz, pp. 298 ff.).

105 In the fund of tales no comprehensive picture of the world
773 emerges. The chief figure in the myths is Thunder, who appears
●776 as the first shaman and as a war leader. He is not, however, an exalted, numinous figure, but rather to some extent has characteristics attributed to forest spirits in other parts of South America.
[784] There is also a special forest spirit (gĕlyŏmp) among the Paez. He
[224] has the figure of an old man with large, exposed sexual parts, and his stings inflicted as punishment for ritual uncleanness in connection with hunting cause the human being sickness and pain. He does not, however, appear mythologically. Fragments of larger myth-complexes are the story of the woman from whose body useful plants arise, the story about the ghostly human head that comes rolling along, stories about transformed animals and human beings, and stories about werejaguars.

1: Nachtigall--288 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 200. Skull trophy and figure of a spirit.

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Ill. 199. The shaman Felisia Ipia with her shaman's staff.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

the drum-dance, in which the women sang to the accompaniment of a drum; *tito-ko*, or *fits-ko*, the stick-dance, etc.

In addition to the shells and reeds, the Indians also accompanied their dances with a kind of drum (*kimb*), consisting of a long wooden trough hung by its extremities; and the *tswits*, or rattle, a calabash containing small stones or hard canna seeds and provided with a handle.

According to Castillo the Paez had also other deities, corresponding somewhat to the lares of the ancient Latins, carved images of which were often found in the houses. The *dizi*, who were at one time priests, sorcerers, and medicine-men, lived in retirement and were considered as the keepers of the doctrines of a traditional civilizer of the nation, called *Guckiuh*. So strong was their influence in Castillo's time that he complains rather bitterly about it, and proceeds to explain how the true God, wishing to free the Paez from such a devilish guide, simply employed a subterfuge to drown him in the Paez river, together with two of his apostles!

The belief in a future existence is indicated, as Uricoechea relates, by the fact that the Indians never molested white dogs, in order that they might not be bitten by them at the doors of the house beyond the grave.

There were birds and other signs of good or of evil omen. A woman would never step over a leather rope stretched on the ground, but would lift it up and pass beneath. During the construction of bridges, two men constantly beat the waters to frighten away evil spirits. The death of a person was often attributed to witchcraft, and he whose face bore some likeness to that of the dead person was often regarded as the culprit, provided the patient in his ravings had not given the name of the supposed sorcerer. The soul of a cow whose fat had been used for illumination during religious ceremonies was believed to go directly to heaven: this last belief, however, must be of post-conquest origin.

Among themselves the Indians are jovial and contented. The approach of the men whom we often met on the trails around Huila was usually first detected by the sound of the

/287 cont./

631 climate and vegetation. Although Paez culture is certainly unitary, each parcialidad presents different nuances which are evident even in the mythology and language. The antropomimia is quite different in each parcialidad.

Nowadays there are 16 parcialidades, four of which belong to the municipio of Inzá and the remaining 12 to that of Páez (Belalcázar).

771 Magic and medicine.--There are three institutions which
782 go in unison and encroach upon others, which explain the causation of sicknesses, the treatment for them, and serve as escape valves for aggression. They are:

a) The one made up of the trilogy of supernatural beings named Duende /ghost/, Echi, and Arco /rainbow/;

b) The institution of the medicine man, and

c) Sorcery.

753 a) Duende, Arco, and Echi are the causers of illnesses,
776 each of them producing a specific symptomatology which serves
[754] as the basis for the diagnostics of common people, a diagnostics
[787] corroborated by the divining activities of the medicine man. These supernatural beings cause illnesses by puncture, aroused by the annoyance that they suffer because of the sorcerers' practices, or by those who had contact with corpses and did not go through the mandatory purification, or because people have passed through places that are taboo, such as bogs and lagoons, or have failed to comply with the rites and ceremonies when slaughtering cattle or when harvesting new clearings, or because they have not observed "custom" at the first menstruation or childbirth.

756 b) In the institution of the medicine man the functions of
787 divination, magic, and medicine are entwined. More precisely, the medicine man is a diviner-shaman-curer who has undergone an /288/ apprenticeship in the profession with an esteemed and experienced master or with the help of a guardian spirit seen in actuality or in dreams; the latter are the best

medicine men.

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/290/

114 us nothing about the religion and mythology of the Paez. Nor
773 do systematic modern studies exist. Nor do those who have had the opportunity to be in contact with them and to describe their customs and ways of life tell us about their religion and mythology. Furthermore, there are those who state that the Paez have no mythology. José Pérez de Barradas collected the myth of Juan Tama. Gregorio Hernández de Alba refers to it, and the Lazarist missionary Fr. David González also collected it and has it in his unpublished work, Los Paeces /The Paez/, in quite elaborate and synthetical form, as does G. Burg. It is obvious that a large part of the myths and tales which I am presenting, not to say all of them, have suffered modifications in the avatar of time, as the institutions also changed. Since mythology is the rationalization of conflicts created by the culture itself, it is subject to the directives /291/ of that society and culture. Its roots are inevitably of a sociological and cultural nature.

773 Many of the myths collected have a marked similarity to
•776 that of Juan Tama. The predominant central motifs refer to
538 sex and aggression. The personages in the myths are Thunder, Llíban, Juan Chiracol, Chaute, and Santo Tomás. Llíban is regarded as Thunder's son, but everyone maintains that he is Thunder himself; he was a cacique, and the natives state that many of their caciques took refuge in the turbulent waters of the river. The last two personages merge and in reality form a single being. It is to be noted that in some accounts the tricky personage presented is not Tomás, who is a saint, but Pedro Dimales, his brother.

186 There is no need to emphasize the role played by the Pijao
793 in these accounts. The recollection of this people inured to
628 war is still fresh in the memory of the Calderunos, the characteristics of the struggle sustained against them still manifest, the fear that the name Pijao awakened still alive. To the Calderun mentality they seem like monsters, like animals of uncommon size and power, who drew fire from their armpits.

4:Bernal Villa--56 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/220 cont./

XXVI

Religious Fiestas

796 Among the Paez there are no secular collective celebrations. All are religious. They celebrate with pomp and grandeur: San Andrés, Semana Santa, San Juan, San Pedro and San Pablo, La Santa Cruz, El Día de Difuntos, La Inmaculada Concepción...

[178] The Lazarist missionary, David González, says that as far back as 1689 the fiestas were organized as they were found [176] in 1905, that is to say, as they are today. Each pueblo was [177] granted a patron saint and various other protectors. In spite of this, only San Juan Bautista and San Pedro and San Pablo, whose fiestas are celebrated when maize is eared /en macollaje/, the rains are heavier, and the winds are violent, the day of the dead /el día de difuntos/ with its offerings to the souls, the Inmaculada Concepción, when grain is abundant, and the Semana Santa (El Resucitado /The Resurrected/) were the fiestas and saints that aroused the most enthusiasm and sank the deepest roots in the souls of these natives.

771 The Paez, and especially those of Calderas, are religious 796 in externals, not in conviction; they are more concerned with 182 form than with substance. This is revealed in the religious fiestas of these natives. /221/ Few of them attend mass, and fewer yet pray at vespers. To the great majority of them, religious fiestas mean a squandering of gunpowder, lights, aguardiente, and chicha. An abundance of food. The pleasure of getting together. The joy of contact. The music, which assuages hardship, and the dancing, an exteriorization of feeling. It is the expansiveness that leads to gatherings, the sexual jokes that spring up among them without misgivings; it is the continuous drunkenness. It is the display of generosity, the exercises in co-operation and altruism.

796 The priest, as a punishment for failure to attend the Mass 793 on the part of the chief fiestero and albacero, refused to carry 718

/224 cont./

At the edge of the lagoon the teacher-curer digs a hole, over which, and from the end of the tama, he suspends the camarico. Thunder requests from the pupil 10, 20, or 30 centavos, coins which he deposits in the hole. Then, he lowers the pouch and covers the hole with stones and earth. The curer bathes the pupil with shu and shulape (1). Thunder

1. 1. Cf. below, "Remedies"
/see pp. 22ff./.

draws near to receive other gifts which he requests by means of the signs, to state that the youth may learn how to cure, to prohibit him emphatically from collecting bad remedies (for sorcery), and to request him to be charitable with people. Last of all, he orders him to return home.

At the teacher's home, chicha and aguardiente are drunk, and meat is eaten with stew. Then the teacher presents remedies to the pupil and tells him that henceforth he will merely need to apply them, warning about the patients who are in a very serious condition, but with the help of God he should try to cure them.

The signs. The signs are reflex movements which manifest themselves in the musculature of the curer. "They are like a circulation" -- says one té eu, "as when a person's muscle twitches in the eye or hand. The interpretation of these signs is done by the curer."

The signs come from Thunder or the Ghost. That is to say, from assisting spirits. There are also those who say that they come from God.

The signs are fundamental, basic in Paez medicine. Without them there cannot be curers, and there cannot be a curer who does not know how to interpret the signs. It is useless to have knowledge of the medicinal value of the plants. The curer is no more than an intermediary, a spokesman for

/236 cont./

755 783 Since sicknesses have a magical origin, the treatments are also magical in character. "The cleansing" is indispensable in every treatment, with its attendant remedies and movements.

165 164 Symptoms of sicknesses. Among the sicknesses clearly identifiable by the natives are smallpox and whooping cough, given their characteristic symptoms. Some of the informants, not many, to be sure, state that their children died of such sicknesses.

165 761 776 On the whole, child mortality, which is rather high, is said to be caused by, in order of frequency and in generic terms, pest, Echi, and sorcery. The cases of death by the ghost and rainbow are few.

753 776 The symptomatologies given for the sicknesses are very vague and even confused with one another. The Echi, ghost, and rainbow sting, not really the body, but the soul, leaving hairs in the body that cause fevers and sharp pains at the spot where they are found. These hairs, when placed in the palm of the hand, move as if they were alive. They differ in color: the red ones are from Kallumb, the reddish blue ones from [755] [783] the rainbow, and the black ones from Echi. The hairs are removed by rubbing with remedies prior to the cleansing.

/237/ It is said that the sting of pallumb /sic/ causes heaviness, lack of appetite, pains in the head and body, fever, and even insanity.

753 776 821 When the arco /literally "bow"/, called kitús, is referred to, it is nothing other than the rainbow, which comes out at any hour of the day, accompanied by a rainy drizzle, the "rainbow meow," which causes scabies (chande) in children [755] [789] when it falls upon them; it is not harmful for adults. The curers, and they alone, from their ranchos blow chewed remedies toward it, tobacco, chandur, flushamuanda, and yacuma [755] negua, in order to make it disappear quickly. Other people chew remedies, when they have them at hand, and rub them on their bodies. There is a general idea that the rainbow causes

/237 cont./

753 776 821 cramps in the body, and furthermore that sorcerers see it in the form of a turkey impelled to peck people.

It seems obvious that what the Indians call Echimbe (red Echi) or candelilla fina /thin glowworm/ is a firefly /luciérnaga/ somewhat difficult to capture and extremely fierce. They differentiate it perfectly well from the fire beetle /cocuyos (cucuyos)/. They say that it is an animal that God produced in order to harm the Christians. The curers call them and catch them in their Kachí, while other Indians, chewing coca, catch them anywhere and bring them to the curer to be buried. They believe that their fierceness is due to the fact that the souls of the Pijao are incarnated in them.

753 The symptoms of the sting of Echi are vague and imprecise and refer solely to bodily pains.

The symptoms of Pijao "dirt" are recognized by respiratory difficulties.

164 757 They differentiate perfectly well the venereal diseases, which seem to be quite widespread in the acculturated parcialidades. In Calderas they are said to have spread widely among both sexes, without respect to age, and to have been treated with copper sulphate, for the remedies of the Indians were of no use. In Santa Rosa antibiotics are used. A curer in that parcialidad maintains that those diseases were brought from La Plata by wandering women and that it befell him to treat two cases: one was serious and the patient died; the second, not very advanced, he treated with yukchacha, montaña barbasco, and fisa (bitopat or bodoquero). He administered the juice for six days and subjected the patient to a diet of chicken exclusively.

755 757 Remedies. The remedies used by the Paez curer are vegetal. As a rule they are prescribed in combination. Thus:

/238/ To clean away the ptans:

Yacuma blanca, ul fiñi, fundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskey, chayuts.

/245 cont./

241 As soon as the curer has collected one fruit of every species to
756 be harvested, he makes up a bundle as on offering to the Ghost,
[782] since he is the owner of the earth.

[776] When this offering has been made, the owners harvest a pouch of each crop sown. They go home and /246/ put the pouches side by side in the left part of the entrance door for
[783] the curer to blow remedies again. Without this requisite, the pouches of food could not be brought into the house because they might carry the pest. The women begin to cook them. When the time for eating comes, the curer first passes around a cup of aguardiente with yuskei and bitopiskue. When there are potatoes, they are handed over to the curer after they are cooked. He distributes one specimen to everyone present; what remains is handed to the owner, who in turn gives generously to the curer.

If the first fruits are of maize or beans, the following is done:

With the green ears of maize, "loaves" /bollos/ or "wrappers" /envueltos/ are prepared; with the beans, a large bundle is made. Then the ears of maize, the bundle of beans, and the loaves are cooked. Aside from this, there is a pot of stew with chicken to provide for the curer.

The cooked ears of maize, beans, and loaves are assembled in a trough, and the cook distributes to all those present a sample of each type. Everyone eats, taking care to leave a little of each mouthful, which they pass to the curer. The latter makes a pile, ties it up, and hangs it from the ridge of the house so that the field seed which is being harvested will yield abundant fruit in the following year.

The husks of the ears of maize are piled outside the house, where the curer remains for one night with the object of capturing glowworms and killing them.

776 Assisting spirits. Thunder. All the informants state that Thunder is short in stature, about 1.40 meters, wears a large hat of twigs, underdrawers, a black poncho, tama, and pouch

/246 cont./

776 of remedies. In addition, some say that he has a long beard, does not wear trousers, shows his genitals, and carries a musical instrument called tíngalo (triangle).

[756] He is a curer and teacher of all the Paez té eu; a protector of the nasa (people) and to some extent even their legislator. Sat (cacique) at the time of the Pijao, he defended them from their voracity and gave them good advice. He ordered that the staffs of command of the cabildo members be washed in the lagoon, abodes of Thunder, to prevent the pest from killing the people.

[823] Thunder is an immortal spirit. He is not seen. He is the guardian of gold and he kills those who dare to collect it. He
776 warns the people /247/ when an evil white is coming to visit
821 them by means of a very strong peal of thunder given when it
787 is not going to rain. If thunder strikes in front of a house, this indicates to the owner that he has the pest and that he should seek out a curer to cure him. If it thunders first at the sorcerer's house and immediately passes to that of the curer, it is a sign that the former is casting a spell on him.

756 When a patient requested the services of a curer from
776 Santa Rosa, a torrential rain accompanied by thunder fell during the night. On the following day he told the patient that he had talked to Thunder, who had advised him not to treat him unless he brought him everything that he had requested.

The only being that Thunder fears is the devil. He knows more treatments than the Ghost.

756 A curer-sorceress from Santa Rosa says that Thunder, called
776 Manuel José Tipo, had fallen in love with her. He gave her
787 serenades with the tíngalo, which were more frequent when the sorceress swept the patio of her house. During the serenades he taught her the remedies. He was at the point of carrying her away to the lagoon, if she had not defended herself vigorously.

5:Bernal Villa--37 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/247 cont./

776 539 [113] Manuel José Tipo was in Calderas (9). The people tossed

9. Frazer, Sir James George. La Rama Dorada /The Golden Bough/, Fdo. de Cultura Económica, Mexico, 1951, pp. 33-34.

poison into the lagoon and he had to leave the place in the company of his wife. He went through the air to Santa Rosa, where, upon arriving, he let his wife fall. It killed her. In this parcialidad he was in love with a cacica /female cacique/. He always came to her well-dressed, with a rich bag of chachalacas. The father of the cacica, curious as to how he had killed so many chachalacas, followed him to the montaña and noted that when he undressed he had snakeskin on his back. He was a snake and for this reason caught birds with ease. He told this to his daughter. She, accompanied by a servant girl, set out on the following day for her field of very fertile soil. She had handsome fields of potatoes, cabbages, and onions. Thunder came to visit her. The place began to become a lagoon, and the servant girl warned her mistress of the danger that they were in. She paid no heed. Lucía Kalguesh, the cacica, remained there, living with Thunder. The lagoon was very rough, and Thunder deceived his wives a great deal. Then the puswesh (the stars) came down, cleared the forest around the lagoon, and dug out a drainage ditch for the purpose of /248/ drying it up. Just as they were about to achieve their end, Thunder came out and begged them not to dry up his dwelling. The angry puswesh sewed his mouth and cut off his tongue, for they were too big.

Thunder continued to behave badly, and the curers chased him to another lagoon, without his wife and children.

776 Kallumb. He lives in the springs and in the caves. He is a good spirit. The people say that the Virgin left a roving

/248 cont./

776 child to help the Indians, to protect them, and to instill a belief in her.

The ghosts look like angels and have a body covered with [727] down. Women may see them making the motions of weaving, in such a case they will become good weavers. Men may see them with pouches, indicating that they will become curers.

It is said that there are large and small ghosts. The former, when they rise, leave the rainbow behind them, like a trail. The latter do not keep company with the former and are less fierce. Both shriek like professional mourners.

* 756 562 The female Té eu. Women can be curers, people state; there is no reason why the signs would not circulate for them. Nevertheless, no woman is a curer. In Santa Rosa there is a woman who, according to her own confession, is a good curer, has seen Thunder and conversed with him, and has good remedies. Thunder even gave her a wooden doll called "Soft wind [754] of Thunder," with which she gives treatments. But the community regards her as a most dangerous sorceress, and the cabildo has burned her remedies and has put her in the stocks. Furthermore, all the deaths caused by sorcery are blamed on her.

On the other hand, the behavior shown by the community is the same as that observed for all sorcerers, that is to say, detachment and resentment against her. A curer from Calderas explains the phenomenon as follows: women are cleverer than men; they have brilliant ideas and in general dominate the men. [754] A woman can become a curer, but at any time she might turn into a sorceress, because she is cleverer than a man. Sometimes she gets to the point where nothing matters to her. Hence women do not learn medicine.

* 756 834 262 Taboos of the Té eu. They refer above all to sex and food. They do not have the full force and tenacity which they have in other cultures.

/259 cont./

754 To facilitate the capture of the soul, the sorcerer gathers
774 the soil on which the victim has trod, with which the us (heart) falls easily.

754 b) The sorcerer can make angry the Ghost, Rainbow, and
776 Echi. Thus:

For the Ghost, he puts a large ají de montaña (Capsicum sp.) at the spot where he lives; the person passes by and dies of a few stings in the heart.

/260/ For the Rainbow, he puts the rags of a menstruating woman in springs, bogs, damp places. A person passes by, is stung, and dies.

For the echi, he puts remedies where the victim works; stung, he vomits blood and dies on the spot.

754 c) Another way to cast a spell is rubbing bad remedies on the salt, pork, or eggs that the victim is going to eat. If by chance someone else eats them, nothing happens, for the witchcraft was not directed against him.

[783] d) The sorcerers handle the pest as they please. They can send it to persons or to the entire community. The sorceress Felisa brings the pest to Santa Rosa even for business reasons.

[789] e) When the sorcerers do not wish a person to return, they place at a strategic spot on the road two bundles of chayuts pointing upward, and in addition they blow dry pringamoza.

f) A curer from Santa Rosa explains how a spell was cast on one of the former gobernadors of the parcialidad. The late Leonidas was working in his garden and his rancho was empty. Then a woman came in, dressed in black (Dolores Oinó), dropped into the pot of food some of her own pubic hair, and stole a piece of Pijao earthenware that contained silver. Leonidas ate this food and began to feel his throat become dry
[783] and to breathe with difficulty. Finally he died. The Pijao pest has the same symptoms.

g) When the sorcerer wants a person to suffer an accident (fracture, contusion, dislocation), he leaves somewhere in that person's house a very smooth stone taken from the stream. The person, wherever he may be, slips and falls.

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Castillo mentions that they wor-

shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called "Itaqui-finó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes).

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[18] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Páez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[19]

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another remnant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly.

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life.

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced upon them by the missionaries.

[18] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors.

[19] We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lame.

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Moguex

upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their menstruation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" to persecute the men and make them ill.

Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 [14] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituns," causes a rash to break out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the spirit of the mountain.

Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in Santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Páez* ask their permission to dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days of November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[14] Statement made by Javier de Grasso y Cuellar in a lawsuit by the Indians of Tobaima for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Bogotá(sic), or Páez.